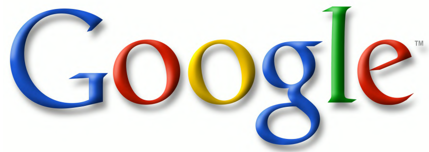

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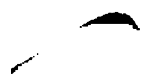

DIPLOMATIC AUDIENCES

AT THE

COURT OF CHINA.

BY

WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL.

LONDON: LUZAC & CO.

PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

(Opposite the British Museum).

1905.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

In 1897 the *American Historical Review* published a paper by the present author entitled "Diplomatic Missions in the Court of China."

In 1900 the author was sent by the Government of the United States as Special Commissioner to China, and a little later on he was appointed Plenipotentiary on the part of the United States at the Congress of the Powers then negotiating at Peking with the Chinese Government for the settlement of the troubles which had arisen through the Boxer outbreak in the preceding year. In this capacity it fell to his lot to be appointed on the Committee entrusted with the preparation of the scheme of reform in the ceremonial at the Court of China for the reception of Foreign Representatives. This led him to enlarge and complete his previous study of the question of diplomatic audiences in China, and, after the conclusion of the negotiations, to record its final phases. It is in this shape that the present paper is published, in the hope that it may prove of interest to the student of history and of diplomacy.

The illustrations are made from negatives taken by the author in 1900.

DIPLOMATIC AUDIENCES AT THE COURT OF CHINA.

I.

FROM THE EIGHTH CENTURY A.D. TO 1654.

THROUGHOUT the East, until comparatively recent times, embassies have only been sent by weaker powers to mightier ones, to crave protection, to solicit trading privileges, to ask assistance against enemies, or to bring the gifts due a sovereign from a vassal or tributary state; and the ambassadors have never been accorded the honours considered due them in Western countries as representing the persons of their sovereigns. This distinction is well pointed out by La Loubère:[1]—"An ambassador throughout the Orient," he says, "is nothing but a king's messenger; he does not represent his master. The honors shown him are but slight compared to the marks of respect shown the letter of credence he bears . . . . So any man who is the bearer of a king's letter is considered an ambassador throughout the East. Thus when the Persian ambassador, whom Mons. de Chaumont left in Siam, died at Tenasserim, the servants having chosen one of their number to take to the King of Siam the letter of the King of Persia, he who was thus chosen was received without other credentials, as would have been the real ambassador, and with the same honors as previously the King of Persia had shown the ambassador of Siam.

[1] *Description du Royaume de Siam*, i, 327–329.

"But that in particular in which they treat an ambassador as a simple messenger is that the King of Siam in the audience of leave gives him a receipt for the letter he has received from him; and if this prince sends answer he does not give it to him, but sends with him his own ambassadors to carry it."

Napoleon I practically held the Asiatic theory on this point when he said that "Ambassadors are not equal to, nor do they represent their sovereigns; sovereigns have never treated them as equals. The false idea that they represent their sovereigns is a tradition of the feudal customs, under which a great vassal at the rendering of homage was represented by an ambassador who received the same honors due his master."[1]

It is not surprising to find that throughout the history of the intercourse of the West with the East, there should have been constant misunderstanding on the part of the Orientals as to the intention of the princes whose ambassadors they were receiving, and the duties of the envoys themselves, especially in regard to performing the prostrations prescribed by Oriental etiquette, but which for centuries past had been reserved in Europe for the Divinity alone. Notwithstanding these Oriental views, which must have been well known to the Western world from the earliest periods, mission to the Court of the ruler of China followed mission from the thirteenth to the present century, and on nearly every occasion the envoys were slighted, to their minds at least, and their master's intentions misinterpreted. China, in fact, has only realized within the last few years that the old theory concerning embassies and foreign envoys was no longer tenable, in all its force, and it is only since 1873 that foreign envoys have been received as the representatives of independent sovereigns and the prostration or *k'o-t'ou* before the Emperor has been dispensed with in their case.

[1] Barry O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile*, ii, 112. Pradier Fodéré, *Cours de Droit diplomatique*, i, 272, says: "Observons toutefois que la représentation n'est pas complète, car, quelque honneur qu'on rende à un ambassadeur, on ne peut jamais le traiter comme on traiterait un souverain en personne." See also *infra*.

It is my purpose in the following paper to show the principal phases of this long and hard-fought battle between Chinese and Western etiquette, which is still undecided in some corners of the world.[1]

Cornelius Nepos, referring to the visit of Themistocles to the Court of Susa, says that though many Greeks had gone to the Persian Court, very few had ever submitted to the ceremonials practised there. Thus, when Conon was sent to Artaxerxes, he was told that unless he did homage to the King by prostrating himself before him he could not be granted an audience, and must communicate with him in writing. Conon, we are told, replied, "So far as I am personally concerned I see nothing very serious in this method of doing honour to the King, but I fear it will be a reproach to my country if, when I am sent as an envoy by a state which is used to command others, I conduct myself after the usage of foreign nations rather than my own," and he transacted his business with the King in writing.[2]

A still more striking instance of courage in refusing to comply with the ceremonial of the Persian Court is told by Herodotus.[3] Xerxes had sent two heralds to Sparta to demand of it earth and water in token of its submission to the great King, but they were thrown into a well and told to take therefrom earth and water for themselves

[1] In Morocco, for instance; in 1894, when H.B.M. Minister to Morocco was accorded an audience at Fez, he stood bareheaded while addressing the Sultan, who was on horseback, and he had to treat the viziers with similar deference. Until within the last few years the French Minister has had to submit to the same humiliating etiquette. See *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1895, 62.

[2] Corn. Nepos, *Conon*, c. iii.

[3] Rawlinson's trans., vii, 134–136. At a later date ambassadors to the Emperors of Byzantium prostrated themselves at full length (ῥίπτονες εαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) and worshipped the Emperor, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis*, i, 403; ii, 404 (Bonn ed.). This ceremony was observed at the Court of Byzantium already in the sixth century. See the account of the reception of the Avar mission by the Emperor Justin in Corippus, *Laud. Just. min.*, iii. Also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (ed. 1838), ch. liii, vol. vii, p. 100. Later on the same ceremonial was practised at the Russian Court, and head-knockings were a feature of it. In Russian the word for 'petition' is *chelobitnaya*, which means literally 'forehead-beating'—*chelo*, 'brow, forehead,' and *bit*, 'to knock,' or 'to beat.'

and carry it to their King. But the Spartans shortly afterwards repented of this deed and made proclamation through the town: "Was any Lacedæmonian willing to give his life for Sparta?" Upon this two Spartans, Sperthias and Bulis, offered themselves as an atonement to Xerxes for the murder of his heralds. When they had come into the King's presence at Susa they were ordered to prostrate themselves before him. Though the guards tried to force them, yet they refused, saying that they would never do such a thing, even were their heads thrust down to the ground; it was not their custom to worship men, and they had not come to Persia for that purpose.

When Alexander became King of Persia he adopted at his Court the ceremonial of that country, and would have himself worshipped, not only in Asia, but even in Macedonia. His claim to divinity and his demand for Oriental obeisances from his subjects were met with ill-disguised scorn and anger by all Greeks, and many of the foremost among them, as Callisthenes, refused to perform the humiliating prostration.[1]

Among the few Greeks who visited the Court of Persia and who prostrated themselves before the King we find Timagoras, who was sent on a mission to Darius and was punished with death on his return to Athens for having humbled his country by this slavish act. Themistocles, when seeking a refuge at the Court of Artaxerxes, saw nothing debasing in complying with the usages of the Persian Court, much to the astonishment of the officer who first told him of the imperative necessity of his prostrating himself before the King.[2]

According to some writers, no mention is found of persons prostrating themselves on their faces before the sovereigns of early China. I am inclined, however, to think that this custom must have existed in some form in that country from the earliest and least civilized periods, as it certainly

[1] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.*, iv, 10–12.
[2] Plutarch, *Themistocles*, xxvii.

did in India centuries before our era.[1] However this may be, we do not hear of any difficulties having been raised against performing the prostrations required by the ceremonial usages of the Court of China by any of the foreign missions sent there from the West until the eighth century of our era, when an envoy from the Ta Shih (Arabs, i.e. the Calif Walid) came, about the year 713, to offer presents to the Emperor Hsuan-tsung of the T'ang. He asked to be exempted from prostrating himself at the audience with the Emperor, saying: "In my country we only worship (*pai*) Heaven (*T'ien*), we never do a Prince." He was at once handed over to the tribunals as worthy of death for seeking to commit an unpardonable breach of the usages of the country, but the Emperor graciously pardoned him at the intercession of one of his ministers, who said that a difference in the court etiquette of foreign countries ought not to be considered a crime.[2]

[1] G. Pauthier, *Cérémonial observé à la Cour de Khoubilai-Khaân*, 15, says that the kotow is a Mongol innovation, and is not found in the ceremonial codes of earlier dynasties, nor in that of the Ming, which succeeded it. He is in the wrong, as is shown by the following extracts from the Annals of the Mongol Dynasty (*Yuan shih*, Bk. 67) and the Ming Annals (*Ming shih*). At New Year's and other annual Imperial audiences during the Mongol Dynasty, from the reign of Kublai onwards, the persons present made their obeisances to the Emperor in the following manner:—Having taken their places in the Court facing the hall in which the Emperor sat on his throne, the chamberlain commanded them "bend the body" (*ch'ü kung*), then "stand erect" (*ping shen*), then "bow" (*pai*), "arise" (*hsing*), "stamp three times" (*san wu tao*), "kneel on the left knee (first) and make three head-knockings" (*kuei tso hsi, san k'o-t'ou*), "make a bow" (*chiu pai*). The bow (*pai*) was done twice whenever ordered. At solemn audiences during the Ming Dynasty, those present first made four bows (*pai*), then they stood erect (*hsing*). After this they knelt (*kuei*); next came the command of the chamberlain, "prostrate yourselves" (*fu-fu*), then "get up" (*hsing*). After this music played, then those present were told "make three obeisances" (*tso san pai*), and so on much as in the ceremonial at the Mongol Court. (*Ming shih*, Bk. 53.) In certain court ceremonies of the Ming, such, for example, as banquets, those present made from one to eight bows (*pai*), according to the ceremony, and then they made "three head-knockings" (*san k'o-t'ou*). The expression *fu-fu* is much more frequently used in the Ming Annals than *k'o-t'ou*. Prostrations generally were not so numerous in court ceremonies during the Ming as during the Mongol period. As a proof of the great antiquity of the custom of prostrating oneself before the sovereign in China, I can refer to the passage in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Historical Memoirs (*Ssŭ I*, ch. ii), in which, speaking of Kao-yao in the time of the Emperor Shun (23rd cent. B.C.), he says: "He bowed his head to the height of his hands (*pai shou*), and prostrated himself (before the Emperor) with his face to the earth."

[2] See pp. 13–14, *Hsin T'ang shu*, Bk. 221, article "Ta Shih," and Abel Rémusat, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i, 444. E. Bretschneider, *On the Knowledge of Ancient Chinese of the Arabs*, etc., 8.

The envoys of Harun-el-rashid to the Emperor Tê-tsung of the T'ang, who visited China in 798, went through the ceremony, apparently without protest, and were treated with the greatest distinction and consideration.

The Chinese recognized the fact that the prostrations were only due from inferiors to superiors. Thus in A.D. 981 the Chinese envoy Wang Yen-tê to the Uigur prince of Kao-chang (Karakhodjo) refused to make genuflexions (*pai*) to him, as being contrary to the established usages as regards envoys. The prince and his family, however, on receiving the presents of the Emperor of China from the envoys, faced towards the capital of China and made obeisance (*pai*).[1]

With the spread of Mongol power in western Asia and eastern Europe, the relations between Europe and the masters of China became quite intimate, and numerous missions were sent to China by European potentates. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV sent two embassies to the Tartars exhorting them to embrace the Christian faith. The one under Friar Lawrence of Portugal was sent to the camp of Batu, somewhere in Armenia or Persia. Concerning this mission we know practically nothing; it does not appear to have reached its destination.[2]

The other envoy of Innocent was Friar John of Pian di Carpine, who was sent first to Batu Khan, and by him to the Court of the Khakhan. Friar John was present at the election of Kuyuk Khan in August, 1246, and was granted audience by him, together with two Kings of Georgia, Ieroslav, Duke of Susdal in Russia, and a great concourse of emirs and sultans from various parts of Asia, in all some four thousand ambassadors, we are told; a noble gathering, beside which our modern diplomatic corps, at the largest capitals, sink into utter insignificance.

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen hsien t'ung k'ao*, Bk. 336, 13.

[2] The Emperor of Japan in A.D. 600 addressed a letter to the Emperor Wen-ti of the Sui Dynasty, which began: "The Son of Heaven of the country of the rising sun, to the Son of Heaven of the country of the setting sun." The Chinese Emperor was so indignant at this that he ordered the letters to be returned to the sender. See Amiot, *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, xiv, 58, and Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen hsien t'ung k'ao*, Bk. 324, 15. See also J. F. Davis, *The Chinese*, i, 98.

The prothonotary Chingay took down the names and titles of each of the envoys, and of the persons of their suite, also the names of those who had sent them, and these he cried out aloud before they entered the imperial tent. Then they bent their left knees four times,[1] and were searched to see that they carried no concealed weapons. After this they entered the Khakhan's presence from the east, for none but the Emperor might enter this tent coming from the west.[2] This was the simple ceremonial of this great audience.

This embassy was better treated than that of the Dominican Friar Ascelin, or Anselm, sent to the Mongol chiefs in Asia Minor by the Pope in 1247, so far at least as demanding of it compliance with the ceremonial of the Mongol Court was concerned; this was due to the religious character of the envoys, all of whom were friars. This difference was fully recognized by the Mongols, and all monks in Asia, as in Europe at that time, were exempted from prostrating themselves before laymen.[3]

About two years later, in 1249, St. Louis of France sent Friar Andrew as his envoy to the Court of Karakorum with letters to the Great Khan, and presents, among which was a "chapel in scarlet cloth," all the various ornaments for church worship, and a piece of the true Cross. The envoy was received with honour, but it was immediately given out

[1] Marco Polo, speaking of the ceremonial at the Court of Kublai, says: "And when they are all seated, each in his proper place, then a great prelate rises and says with a loud voice, 'Bow and adore!' And as soon as he has said this, the company bow down until their foreheads touch the earth in adoration towards the Emperor, as if he were a god. And this adoration they repeat four times." Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., i, 378. Cf. *supra*, p. 5, note 1.

[2] Pian di Carpine, *Historia Mongalorum* (ed. Soc. Géog. Paris), 754-761. On the day of the enthronement of Kuyuk (24th August, 1246), when all the assembled multitude stood facing south making genuflexions, Friar John refused to perform this ceremony, "not knowing whether they were making incantations, bending their knees to God, or what else." Ibid., 758.

[3] Friar William of Rubruck, when questioned as to the ceremonial he would follow when admitted to the Khakhan's presence, referred to this privilege of monks in Europe, and it was apparently conceded him by the Mongols. The Tao-ssŭ Ch'ang-ch'un, who was received in 1222 by Chinghis Khan, says in his narrative: "It must be said here that the professors of the *Tao*, when presented to the Emperor, were never required to fall upon their knees or to bend their heads to the ground. On entering the imperial tent they only made a bow and placed their hands together." Bretschneider, *Chinese Mediæval Travellers to the West*, p. 47. See also Du Halde, *Déscription de l'Empire de la Chine*, iv, 269.

that the King of France had submitted to Mongol rule and was sending gifts in token of allegiance.[1]

Although nothing was accomplished by this mission of Friar Andrew, the object of which was to exhort the Mongol princes to enter the Christian fold, St. Louis sent still another envoy in 1253 to Mangu Khan for the same purpose. Realizing, however, the mistake he had made in 1248 in attributing an official character to his envoy, he ordered the head of the mission, the Flemish Franciscan friar, William of Ruysbroek, or Rubruck, to carefully conceal his true character, and to represent himself only in that of an itinerant preaching friar. The story of his audience with Mangu Khan, whom he found not far from his capital of Karakorum, as told by himself in his *Itinerarium*, is worth quoting:—

"On the Octave of the Innocents (3rd January, 1254) we were taken to Court . . . . and they asked us what kind of reverence we wanted to make to the chan, according to our fashion or according to theirs. I replied to them: 'We are priests given to the service of God. Noblemen in our country do not, for the glory of God, allow priests to bend the knee before them. Nevertheless, we want to humble ourselves to every man for the love of God. We come from afar: so in the first place, then, if it please you, we will sing praises to God who has brought us here in safety from so far, and after that we will do as it shall please your lord, this only excepted, that nothing be required of us contrary to the worship and glory of God.' Then they went into the house (tent), and repeated what I had said. It pleased the lord, and so they placed us before the door of the dwelling, holding up the felt which hung before it; and, as it was the Nativity, we began to sing:

[1] Abel Rémusat, *Hist. des Relations politiques des Princes Chrétiens avec les Empereurs Mongols*, 445–449. As bearing on the subject I may mention here that Friar John of Pian di Carpine (op. sup. cit., 621) relates that when Michael, one of the principal chiefs of the Russians, went to give himself up a prisoner to Batu, he was first obliged to pass between two fires, to purify himself of all evil influences surrounding him, and then he was told to bow to the south to Genghis Khan. He replied that he was willing to bow before Batu and even his servants, but that he would not bow to the image of a dead man, for Christians were not allowed so to do. They repeated the order to him, and he still refusing to comply with it, saying that he would rather die than do so, a guard transfixed him with his sword, and he died.

'A solis ortus cardine
Et usque terre limitem
Christum canamus principem
Natum Maria virgine.'

"When we had sung this hymn, they searched our legs and breasts and arms to see if we had knives upon us. They had the interpreter searched, and made him leave his belt and knife in the custody of a door-keeper. Then we entered, and there was a bench in the entry with *cosmos* (kumiss), and near by it they made the interpreter stand. They made us, however, sit down on a bench near the ladies.

"The house was all covered inside with cloth of gold, and there was a fire of briars and wormwood roots—which grow here to great size—and of cattle dung, in a grate in the centre of the dwelling. He (Mangu) was seated on a couch, and was dressed in a skin spotted and glossy, like a seal's skin . . . . He had us asked what we wanted to drink, wine or *terracina*, which is rice wine (*cervisia*), or *caracosmos*, which is clarified mare's milk, or *bal*, which is honey mead . . . . So he had us given of the rice drink, which was clear and flavoured like white wine, and of which I tasted a little out of respect for him, but for our misfortune our interpreter was standing by the butlers, who gave him so much to drink that he was drunk in a short time.

"After this the chan had brought some hawks and other birds, which he took on his hand and looked at, and after a long while he bade us speak. Then we had to bend our knees. He had his interpreter, a certain Nestorian, who I did not know was a Christian, and we had our interpreter, such as he was, and already drunk . . . ." [1]

The next embassy of which we hear as having refused to comply with the ceremonial in force at the Mongol Court was that sent by Philip the Fair of France in 1288 to Argun, the Mongol ruler of Persia. The names of the ambassadors have not reached us, but we are told of them that they behaved with great arrogance. They refused to render the ruler of Persia the homage expected of them, because he was not a Christian. They would be remiss in their duty to their master, they said, if they consented to

[1] *Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, 171–174 (Hakluyt Soc. ed.).

prostrate themselves before him, as he three times asked them to do.

Argun, however, finally received them, and even treated them with great courtesy. The next year, however, his ambassador to Pope Nicholas IV called the attention of the King of France, in a most diplomatic way, to this unseemly conduct on the part of his envoys. If the King of France had directed his ambassadors to conduct themselves in the way they had done with Argun, he was content, "for what pleases you pleases him." If, however, the King should send back these envoys or others, he begged Philip to allow and direct them to make the King of Persia such reverence and honour as is customary and in usage at his Court. In consideration of this they would be dispensed with passing through fire, a Tartar custom by which all new-comers at Court, be they princes or envoys, together with all the presents they brought with them, were obliged to pass between two big fires; by so doing, all evil influences or ill luck which they bore with them were driven away.[1]

This was the first diplomatic victory of the West over the East, and the last one recorded for many centuries to come.

Though the next mission of interest to us to the Chinese Court was not one from a European power, it is nevertheless well worth noticing, as it presents the earliest account of the ceremonies attending the reception of foreign envoys, and shows that already in the fifteenth century the ceremonial of the Court of the Emperor of China was practically the same as at the present day.

In 1419 Shah Rukh,[2] the son of Tamerlan, sent an embassy from Herat to the Court of the Emperor Yung-lo of

[1] Abel Rémusat, *Hist. des Relations des Princes Chrétiens*, etc., 361–378. On this custom of removing evil influences, see Rockhill, *Journey of Friar William of Rubruck*, xxxi, 9, 35, 76, 240; also D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, ii, 210. It is still observed in shamanistic ceremonies in parts of Siberia. See Professor V. M. Mikhailoff in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxiv, 89.

[2] Thévenot, *Relations de divers Voyages curieux*, ii. See also Étienne Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, pt. 1, 387 et seq., and H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither*, i, cxix et seq. On the palace of Peking in the Yuan and Ming periods, see Bretschneider, *Archæological and Historical Researches on Peking*, etc., 23 et seq.

IMPERIAL THRONE AND DAIS IN THE T'AI-HO TIEN AUDIENCE HALL.

the Ming. It was joined on the way by envoys from Samarkand, Badakshan, and other countries, and together they travelled to Peking, in company of some returning Chinese envoys, arriving in the Chinese capital in 1420. They reached the city during the night and, the gates being shut, they were led unceremoniously through a breach in the wall, which was being repaired, and conducted directly to the Palace. They stopped for a while before a pavilion in a great court, and here they passed the remainder of the night with a vast number of soldiers—300,000, the chronicler says with true Oriental imagery—while two thousand musicians and singers sang prayers for the Emperor's prosperity, and two thousand more men, with sticks and halberds, kept back the vast crowd of lookers-on.

As day broke there arose a great sound of music, and the doors in the pavilion which led into the inner court, at the upper end of which was the audience hall, were thrown open.

"The ambassadors, having passed from the first place to the second, found the latter as beautiful and as spacious as the other. In the upper part there was a kiosque or pavilion larger than the first, where had been erected a platform, or sofa, of triangular form. It was four cubits high and covered with yellow satin, with gildings and paintings representing the Simorg or Phœnix, which the Khataians call the 'Royal Bird.' On this throne or sofa was a seat of massive gold, and to the right and left there were Khataians standing and arranged in great numbers. The first were those who commanded ten thousand men, followed by those who commanded a thousand, and after them those who only commanded a hundred; each holding in his right hand a tablet, a cubit long and quarter of a cubit broad, and looking at nothing else but their tablets. Behind them was an incalculable multitude of soldiers armed with cuirasses and lances, and several with naked swords in their hands; all of them standing in their ranks, and in such great silence that one would have said there was not a living soul there. Things being in this state, the Emperor[1] came out of his apartment and ascended the throne by five silver steps which had been placed there, and sat down on this seat of gold. He was of medium height; his beard was neither too thick nor

[1] Yung-lo of the Ming, who reigned from 1403 to 1425.

too thin, and two or three hundred hairs hung down from his chin to such a great length that they formed three or four curls on his stomach. To the right and left of the throne stood two girls of great beauty; their hair fixed on the top of their heads; their faces and necks uncovered, and great pearls in their ears. They held pen and paper in their hands, and paid great attention to write down what the Emperor said. (They put down in writing all of his words, which are shown to him when he has gone back to his apartments, to see if there is anything to be changed in his various commands. Then they carry them out to the people of the Divan to the end that they may be executed.) Finally, when he had taken his place and all had been arranged, they caused the ambassadors to advance before the Emperor with some criminals. The first business which was disposed of was that of the criminals,[1] who were to the number of seven hundred. Some of them were fastened by the neck; others had their heads and necks passed through a board; five or six were all fastened together to a single board, in which their heads were fixed. Each one had a guard who held him by the hair of his head, waiting the order of the Emperor. He had the greater part of them put in prison. There were but few condemned to death.

"The ambassadors were conducted near the throne to about fifteen cubits from it, and the officer who conducted them, having kneeled, read a paper in Khataian which set forth that which regarded the ambassadors, to wit: that they were ambassadors who had come from afar, from Shah Rukh and his children; that they had brought rare objects to be presented to the Emperor, and that they had come to strike their heads against the ground before his Majesty. Then the Cadi Mulana Hagi Jusuf, one of the officers who commanded ten thousand men, a favorite of the Sultan, and one of his Council, approached the ambassadors together with some Musulmen who understood the language, and told them first to kneel and to put their heads against the ground. The ambassadors bowed their heads three times, but they did not touch the ground with their foreheads. This being done, the ambassadors took in both hands the letters of Shah Rukh, of Prince Baisangar and of the other princes and emirs, enveloped in yellow satin, according to the custom of the Khataians, who

[1] This is a delightful bit of Chinese humour, such as they still love to indulge in at the expense of foreign barbarians. Cf. what Rubruck says *supra* of Mangu Khan's behaviour when he received him in audience. In both cases the idea was to make the envoys realize how insignificant they were and how unimportant their business.

envelop in this color everything that is destined for the Emperor. The Cadi Mulana Jusuf took the letters from their hands and placed them in those of the Khogia of the Palace, who sat at the foot of the throne. This Khogia presented them to the Emperor, who took them, opened and looked over them, and gave them back to the Khogia. After this he came down from his throne and sat at the foot of it on a seat, and at the same time there were brought him three thousand cloaks of fine stuff and two thousand others of coarse stuff, with which his children and those of his house were clothed. The seven ambassadors approached him and knelt, and the Emperor asked them concerning the health of Shah Rukh, etc., etc.

"After various questions about the products of their country and the condition of the roads between China and Persia, the Emperor said: 'You have come from afar, arise and go and eat.' Then the ambassadors were led into the first court, where there was set a table for each one . . . . after which they were led to the lodgings where they were to sleep. The upper room was furnished with a bed, consisting of a raised seat covered with very beautiful silk cushions, with a brazier in which to make fire; and on the right and left there were other rooms with beds, silk cushions, rugs, and very fine mats. Each one of the ambassadors was lodged in this manner in a separate room, where they each had a kettle, a plate, a spoon, and a table. They received each day, for ten persons, a sheep, a goose, two chickens; and each person two measures of flour and a large plateful of rice, two large bowls full of sweatmeats, a pot of honey, some garlic, onions, salt, different kinds of herbs, a bowl of *Dirapum*, and a bowl of dried fruits; some nuts, hazel, chestnut, etc. There were also a number of fine-looking servants who remained always standing, ready to serve them from morning until evening."

The next mission to which I must refer is that sent in 1654 by the Czar Alexis of Russia under the leadership of Feodor Iskowitz Bashkoff.[1] Bashkoff appears to have entered China by way of Kuei-hua Ch'eng or Koko Khutun (his Cokatana). He reached Peking, or Cambalu as he called it, on March 3rd, 1656, four months before the arrival

[1] In Thévenot's *Relations*, vol. ii, the Latin text of this narrative is given. The English text is in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ii, 471-473. Thévenot's text is probably the more correct. I have quoted, however, from the English translation, and retained its quaint phraseology.

of the mission sent there by the Company of the Dutch East Indies.

"About an English mile out of town," he says, "we were met by two deputies, one whereof was the chancellor of the office of foreign affairs, the other of that of Chinese affairs. They received us in a spacious structure of stone, inhabited by some priests, and built, as we were told, for the reception of the *Delac Lama* or the *Tartarian* high-priest, who is reverenced among them like a god.[1] At the entrance of this house they desired me to alight from my horse, and pay my respects to the king[2] upon my knees. Unto which I replied that it was not our custom to salute even our *Czar* upon our knees, but only with a very low bow, and bare-headed; unto which they gave no other answer, but that the *Dutch* never refused it, and therefore I ought not. They then presented me with some *Thee*, made with cow's milk, and butter,[3] in the king's name; it being Lent, I refused to drink it. They told me, that I being sent from one great *Czar* to another mighty prince, I ought at least to accept it, which I did, and so turned back. As we were making our entry, I saw in the gate standing three brass cannon, and so we marched forward for three *versts*, most thro' markets, before we came to the court prepared for our reception, which had two houses of stone, hung with tapestry. Our daily allowance of provisions was one sheep and a small cask of *Spanish* brandy, two fishes, a middle-sized *Jafy*, a certain quantity of wheaten flour, *Sichay*,[4] and rice, and two cups of brandy.

"The 6th of *March*, word was sent me to bring my credentials to the secretary's office; which I refused to comply with, telling the messenger that I was sent with these credentials to the king, and not to his ministers.

"*August* 21, they sent again upon the same errand; but I refused the same, they told me, that since I had disobeyed their

[1] At this time the tribute missions sent by the Dalai lama of Tibet stopped probably in the Pai-ta ssŭ or the Sung-chu ssŭ; the Huang ssŭ outside the city on the north side was not then built.

[2] By this he means to prostrate himself before an imperial chair, or, as required of Count Golovkin in 1805, before a table covered with yellow silk and supposed to represent the person of the Emperor.

[3] Or *su ch'a*, 'buttered tea,' such as was given the Dutch ambassadors in 1656. See *infra*. The tea, drunk in receptions at Court, is the mixture in use among the Mongols and Tibetans. It is served in metal pitchers about 2 feet high and 6 inches in diameter. The little wooden bowls are similar to those used in Mongolia or Tibet.

[4] I am unable to say what Chinese words *Jafy* represents; *Sichay* is probably *hsi ch'a*, 'fine tea.'

king's command, they had orders to punish me; I gave them no other answer, but, if they cut me limb by limb, I would not part with them till I had been admitted to the king's presence."

The 31st of August, all the presents for the Emperor, which had a few days before been taken from Bashkoff by force, were brought back by special command from their king, "because I had refused to deliver my credentials into the secretary's office; and one among them told me, '*No foreign minister, come he from what country he will, is admitted into the presence of our king, but only of his great ministers, call'd* Inoanol Boyarde.'"[1]

Bashkoff remained shut up in an official inn or *kung-kuan* (probably one of those situated until 1900 behind the United States Legation, and used until its destruction after the Boxer troubles in that year to lodge tribute-bearers of the Koreans, Nepalese, Lo-los, and Tibetan tribes from the borders of Western China), unable to see anything or anybody until September, when he left again for Russia.

In July of the same year a Dutch embassy arrived in Peking from Canton, having travelled overland from that port. It was sent by the Dutch East India Company to secure trading privileges at Canton.[2] The envoys were received by a few officials of low rank and lodged not far from where Bashkoff was confined. Their names, the presents they bore, and every other imaginable detail concerning them were carefully written down, and a guard of soldiers stationed over them, ostensibly to protect them and the gifts destined for the Emperor.

The Chinese officials inquired particularly whether the ambassadors were related to the Prince of Orange, for unless they were they could not hope to be received by the Emperor. Thus, they said, the late envoys from Korea and

[1] *Inoanol* is not Russian, neither is it Chinese. Rashid-eddin says the kings of the Kirghiz and the Kemjuts took the title of *Inal*; one was called *Uruss-Inal* (D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i, 102). *Inoanol Boyarde* is presumably a member of the Privy Council (*Nei Ko*).

[2] On the journey of the Dutch mission, see C. Imbault Huart, *Le Voyage de l'Ambassade Hollandaise de* 1656 *à travers la Province de Canton* (J.C.B.R.A.S., xxx, 1-73).

the Liu-chiu Islands were, the former a brother of the king, the latter his son-in-law. This same argument, which had recently been also used with Bashkoff, had apparently no other object than to make the envoys realize all the honour the Emperor was about to do them and how friendly were his sentiments, when he should finally admit them to an audience. Should, happily, the envoys be princes or personages of exalted station, the Emperor's greatness would thereby be magnified, if such a thing were possible, in the eyes of his people.

So great has been the wish of the Chinese to exalt their sovereign above all others, that they have often resorted to the most extraordinary expedients, if we may believe travellers, to demonstrate his pre-eminence in the eyes of the public. Thus Bernardino of Escalanta,[1] speaking of the missions which the Kings of Ava, Siam, and other Asiatic countries sent to the Court of China, says: "They always send with the embassage four or five persons, everyone with like authority, that if it happens some of them to die on the way, or until they be despatched from thence, and they die not of any disease, they (the Chinese) always poison one or two of them in some banquet, unto whom they make very sumptuous sepulchres, with epitaphs concerning what they were, and the cause of their coming, and by what prince they were sent. And this is for to continue the memory and greatness of the renown of his realm."

But to return to the Dutch Embassy; the Jesuits, who were at that time very powerful at the Court of Peking, exerted themselves to defeat the mission, and as one of the fathers tells us,[2] "they resolved to leave no medium unessayed to overthrow these Hollanders' designs, and with all diligence and vigilancy to vacuate their undertakings, and they searched after all means possible to hinder their access to the Court."

[1] *Account of the Empire of China*, in Osborne's *Collections of Voyages and Travels*, ii, 57.

[2] *Narrative of the Success of an Embassage unto the Emperour of China and Tartary*, in John Ogilby's edition of Nieuhoff's *Embassy*.

The good fathers were embarrassed by lack of ready money with which to further their worthy purposes, for the Dutch appear to have been lavish with their presents. Thus Father John Adam writes :—

"Certain it is that three thousand Tayes (*taels*) were sufficient to make a present to the Emperor, more acceptable than all the Dutch have brought, thereby to confirm the Emperor's favour to us, and interclude all ways to these Hereticks; but we are at too great a distance from Macao to acquaint them [i.e. the head of their mission] with these passages, and probably we might not be heard; nevertheless, I assure your reverend Fatherhood that, as far as my power will extend, I will not spare art nor labour to paint out these Hollanders in true and native colours . . . . Our God, who suffered them to enter Japan, so much to the destruction of Christianity, which before flourished in that island, would not permit their ingress into China, to the like damage of Religion here."

Notwithstanding the Jesuits' efforts it was finally decided to receive the embassy.

"The Emperor, having been informed concerning Holland, sent a declaration to his Council stating that he would receive the Dutch as ambassadors, and gave orders to conduct them to the audience when he should be seated on his throne in his new palace . . . .[1]

"The time was, however, approaching when the Emperor was to make his first entry into his new Palace, to which time he had put off their audience, but the custom of the country obliged them first to go to make their obedience (*soumissions*) in the Palace where is kept the seal of the kingdom, for this place, having been chosen by Heaven and therefore sanctified in all times, foreign ambassadors, they say, owe it the first honours, and they are never received in audience except after having been there. This law is general for all those who have audience with the Emperor or who enter upon any functions; even the Emperor himself is not exempted, and before he becomes Emperor he must needs come and bow his head, and make obedience in this place . . . ."

The ambassadors complied with this custom on the 14th of August, three days before that fixed for the audience. They

[1] Cf. John Ogilby's English translation (1669), 119–135, which is not as full, however, as the French translation in Thévenot, ii, 53–59.

were led by a number of officials in full court dress into a little chapel in the old palace, and then, "a quarter of an hour after, they were led into a court and placed in front of the old throne, shut in all about by a paling, and a herald cried out to them with a strong voice *Kuschan*, that is to say, 'God hath sent the Emperor,' after which he cried to them *Quée*, that is to say, 'kneel down'; *Kanto*, which signifieth 'bow the head three times'; *Kée*, 'arise'; which he repeated three times; and finally he cried *Koce*, that is to say, 'stand to one side.'[1] This took place in presence of a quantity of Chinese doctors," after which the envoys returned to their lodgings to wait for the 25th of August, on which day their audience with the Emperor was to take place.

The death of the brother of the Emperor put off the audience until the 2nd of October (1656), when the same officials who had accompanied them when they had performed their prostrations before the imperial throne came for them at 2 o'clock in the morning. Six persons of the envoys' suite accompanied them. They were led into the second court of the Palace, where they waited, seated on "blue stones" and in an open court, until daybreak. Ambassadors of the Great Mogul were placed next to them, also deputations of lamas and of the Sudatses[2] waited to be

[1] *Kuschan* is perhaps an erroneous transcription (or transposition) of the words *shan hu*, a term used in Court ceremonies in the Mongol period and subsequently; it is an abbreviation for *shan hu wan sui*, "'the hills cry out 'Long live the Emperor!'" These words were cried out three times by the imperial chamberlain at the New Year audience, after all those present had kotowed to the Emperor (*Yuan shih*, Bk. 67). *Quee* is *kuei*, 'kneel.' *Kanto* is *k'o*, 'bump,' *t'ou*, 'the head.' The command was *san k'o t'ou*, 'three head-knockings.' See *Yuan shih*, loc. cit. *Kee* is *ch'i*, 'rise up,' and *Koce* is *k'o*, 'it is proper,' *chü*, 'to go away.'

[2] Or Sudasen, which the editor says are Yupi ('Fish-skin') Tartars. Ogilby says they are "South Tartars," and gives a description of their dress (Nieuhoff, op. cit., 123). He writes their name Zutadsen and Suytadsen. This is the vulgar expression, still in general use, *Sao Ta-tzŭ*, 'Stinking Tartars,' applied by the northern Chinese to all Mongols alike. The court referred to is that facing the T'ai-ho Tien, the Great Throne Hall still used by the Emperor for certain celebrations, such as the New Year, when the great nobles and all the officials take their places seated in the courtyard according to their ranks. Their places are indicated by sixteen rows of bronze ornaments about 18 inches high, made in the shape of corner-stones, and on which the various ranks of officialdom are marked. The horses referred to by the Dutch were the Emperor's private travelling equipage, which is still brought out into this court on occasions of great ceremony. The court music on these occasions is still the same as in the seventeenth century, and the movements of the participants in the ceremonies are regulated by three crackings of whips (*ming pien san*).

THE T'AI-HO TIEN OR GREAT AUDIENCE HALL VIEWED FROM SOUTH COURT.

To face p. 18.]

introduced with them. After a while they were led into the part of the Palace where the Emperor had his throne and which they found filled with officers and soldiers, gorgeously dressed and carrying different coloured standards, images of the sun and moon, parasols and poles with tassels of gold and silk of different colours hanging from them. At the foot of the throne they noticed particularly "six horses as white as snow, with bridles studded with rubies and pearls."

Suddenly, while they were considering all this magnificence, "they heard a little bell tinkle and a soldier appeared, cracking a leather thong, so that with each crack of it they heard three pistol shots." On hearing this everyone stood up, and at the same time was heard "an agreeable music of various instruments and very sweet voices." The various high officers and the envoys of the Great Mogul, the lamas and others, kotowed at the foot of the throne, and then the chancellor of the kingdom came to the ambassadors of Holland and asked them their titles. They answered that they had that of Tchiomping,[1] "agreeably to the judgment of the King of Canton, who had given them this title." The ambassadors of the Mogul having answered that they had the same title as the Dutch, they were placed side by side.

"In the middle of this hall there were twenty stones with copper plates on which are marked the titles of those who are to kneel. The ambassadors were placed on the tenth stone,[2] where they stood until a herald cried, '*Advance toward the throne.*' At these words they all rose to advance. Then the herald said, '*Return to your places,*' which they did at once. 'Bow your head three times to the ground,' and finally, 'arise.' They were obliged three times to go through all these exercises. The herald cried, '*Return to your place,*' when they walked at once to the left side of the hall and took their former places."

After this they were led into another raised hall or stage

[1] Or, according to our mode of transcription, *Tsung-ping*, 'General.' In Father John Adam's *Narrative of the Success of the Embassy*, etc., it is said the two ambassadors were called by the Tartars *Compim* or 'Captain.'

[2] The tenth row of stones would be that marked "Fifth class principal" (*wu pin chêng*). Officials of the fifth class wear a crystal or white button.

with the ambassadors of the Great Mogul, and were again obliged to go on their knees and bow three times to the ground, when they were served with tea, mixed with milk, which was given them in little wooden bowls. Meanwhile the noise of bells was heard and the cracking of the leather strap, and they all went again on their knees, when the Emperor finally appeared at about thirty steps from the ambassadors on a throne of gold, with two arms in the shape of great dragons which concealed him so that they could only see a part of his face. Two viceroys of the royal blood were seated below him, and after them three great lords of his court. They were drinking tea in little wooden vessels, and were all dressed in blue silk of the same colour, on which were representations of serpents and dragons. Their caps had a little gold ball on the top enriched with jewels.

The Emperor never addressed a word to the ambassadors, and, "after a quarter of an hour," Nieuhoff remarks, he rose and left the hall. We are told by the ambassador that the Emperor[1] was a young man, fair of face, of medium height and well proportioned. As soon as he had left the audience hall all restraint seems to have vanished, and the soldiers and other people in the Palace rushed in to look and gaze at the Dutch "as if they had been some strange Africk monsters."

The same day on which they were received by the Emperor the Dutch were given a dinner by the first minister[2] together with the other envoys who had been received at the same time as they. This feast was served by order of the Emperor. Before sitting down at the table they all turned toward the north, "because the Emperor abides in that direction," and made three reverences, as they had before done in front of the throne. Among the queer dishes which were served on this occasion was camel's flesh,

[1] This Emperor is known as Shun-chih. He reigned from 1644 to 1662. He was the first Emperor of the present Manchu or Ta Ch'ing Dynasty to reign in China proper.

[2] According to Ogilby's translation (p. 130) the feast took place at the Board of Rites (*Li Pu*). Father Adam, *Narrative*, etc., f. 13, calls the president of this board "a sordid and covetous wretch."

roasted and boiled, probably for the special delectation of the Mongol guests and of the Emperor's maître d'hôtel, who devoured it "like a man who might have been fasting for the three last days." When they had finished eating, the Chinese obliged the ambassadors to put all the bits left over into bags[1] to carry back with them to their lodgings, "and it was a pleasure to see these famished Tartars filling their leather pouches or skins with the hair still on." After eating they were served with drink, consisting of *sampsoe*,[2] brought in jugs, from which it was poured into bowls and ladled out with wooden spoons into pots of gold and silver. They were told that this drink was distilled from sweet milk.

At the end of the banquet the envoys were required to make another obeisance in the direction of the Palace of the Emperor to thank him for this "brave high treatment," after which the narrator pathetically says: "They went away without other compliments or ceremony, very much worn out by the different reverences which they had been obliged to make that day." On various subsequent occasions they had again to perform these prostrations.

Finally, after two more banquets, where they remarked that the Mogul envoys and the other foreigners were better treated than they, the Li Pu (Board of Rites) handed them a letter to the Governor-General of Batavia, and told them to leave the city at once, which they did two hours after its receipt.

They were unable during their stay in Peking to visit the city, as they were kept all the time shut up in their lodgings "like recluses in their cells," without being allowed to go out once, except to court or to the Board of Rites.[3] Every day they were furnished by order of the Emperor with the

[1] Friar William of Rubruck mentions these bags, which he says were called *captargac*.

[2] Or *samshu*, as it is called in Anglo-Chinese. It is usually made from sorghum in Northern China, but in the south from rice. Its Chinese name is *shao chiu*, 'brandy-wine.' The Mongols distil their *arrak* from sour mare's milk. This may have been the drink given the Dutch.

[3] When Luitprand of Cremona was Ambassador of Berengarius II in Constantinople in A.D. 946, he was kept a close prisoner in the palace in which he was lodged. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vii, p. 101.

following: To the ambassadors six catties of meat, a goose, two chickens, four pots of *sampsoe*, two teils (ounces) of salt, two teils (ounces) of tea of Tartary[1] and a teil two maes (an ounce and a fifth) of oil, while the secretary received two catties of fresh meat, half an ounce of tea, a cattie of honey, a cattie of tanta,[2] five coudria four maes of oil, four teils of missou, etc. Among the supplies given the suite of the embassy, I notice rice, which, however, was not allowed the higher officers.

As to the object of their mission, the Dutch gained a partial success, for permission was granted their countrymen to visit Canton for trade once in eight years, with not over one hundred men in a company, of whom twenty might proceed to Peking with the presents destined for the Emperor.[3]

[1] Probably coarse brick tea, such as the Mongols use.

[2] Ogilby has (p. 134) *Taufoe*, a correct transcription of the Chinese *tou fu*, 'bean curd,' a very common article of Chinese diet. *Missou* or *misson* is Chinese *mi su*, 'soy sauce.'

[3] Although the Dutch admit that they performed all the ceremonies prescribed by Chinese court etiquette, the Jesuit Father Baliou, writing *after* the departure of the mission, says: "The Hollanders may not come into the King's presence (nor the Muscovites), because they will not submit themselves to those ceremonies of reverence accustomed in this Palace. They are novices and ignorant in affairs, and obstinate in refusing to accommodate themselves to the customs of the country. God will at length discover his mercies to the Catholick Portugueses here!" (*Embassage to the Emperour of China*, etc., 47).

II.

From 1692 to 1858.

Though the Russian mission to Peking of 1654 under Bashkoff was a failure, no evil ensued; and trade between the two nations along their frontiers continued as in the past. When negotiating with China the treaty of Nipchu in 1689, the Russians took occasion to demand that, should one country send ambassadors to the other to communicate the leading events in the two empires, these ambassadors should be treated with every honour, that they should hand the letters of their masters *into the hands* of the Emperor to whom they were sent, and that they should have entire liberty in whatever place they might be, even at court. To this the Chinese plenipotentiaries returned an evasive answer, saying that envoys would always be received with distinction, but that it was, of course, quite beyond the limits of their authority to pledge the Emperor to any alteration in the ceremonials of his court.[1]

Ysbrandt Ides was the first envoy sent by Russia to the Court of China after the conclusion of this treaty. He arrived at Peking in 1692, and has left an interesting narrative of his journey, but tells us nothing of his audience with the Emperor K'ang-hsi.

Three years later (1695) the Italian traveller Gemelli Careri was present at an audience given by this Emperor in one of the great throne halls of the Palace, probably, judging from the description he gives of it, the T'ai-ho Tien or the Pao-ho Tien. He describes the audience as follows:—

"The emperor's throne was in the midst of a great court. It ascended square, the first basis being of an extraordinary bigness, and all hemmed in with banisters of white and very fine marble. Above the first landing-place or plain, which had such another

[1] See Du Halde, *Description*, etc., iv, 197.

row of banisters about it, was a second in the same manner, but somewhat less in compass, and so it grew less to the fifth ascent or plain, where was an admirable open room or gallery covered with gilt tiles, and supported by strong wooden pillars varnish'd. In this place was the emperor's throne. Those five orders of banisters looked mighty beautiful to my eye, especially at that time when the sun shining upon them, they reflected its rays all about.

"The emperor was within that beautiful chamber or gallery, sitting after the *Tartar* manner, on a *Soffa*, or floor rais'd above the rest of the room three foot, and cover'd with a large carpet, which reach'd over all the pavement. He had by him books, ink, and pencils after the *Chinese* manner, to write. His garment was of gold-colour'd silk, embroider'd with dragons, two whereof very large were on his breast richly wrought. On his right and left were ranks of eunuchs well clad, and without any weapons, their feet close together, and their arms hanging. When we came to the door, we ran hastily to the end of the room that was opposite to the emperor, and standing both together, continu'd on our feet a moment, holding our arms right down by our sides. At last kneeling, and lifting up our hands, join'd to our heads, so that our arms and elbows were of an equal height, we bow'd three times down to the ground; then rising, we set ourselves in the same posture as at first, and perform'd the same ceremony a second and a third time, till we were order'd to advance, and kneel down before the emperor. By means of Father *Grimaldi*, he ask'd me concerning the wars then carry'd on in Europe, and I answer'd to the best of my knowledge. Then he asked me whether I was a physician, or understood surgery; and understanding that was not my profession ask'd a third time, whether I had studied mathematics, or understood them. To which I answer'd in the negative, tho' in my younger years I had some smattering of them. For I had been forewarn'd by the fathers that if I own'd I understood any of those arts or sciences he would keep me in his service, and I had no mind to stay there. At length he gave us our congé, and we retired without any ceremony."[1]

In 1719 Peter the Great sent to China another envoy, Count Leoff Ismailoff, two accounts of whose journey have reached us, the one by Father Ripa, one of the Jesuits of

[1] *A Voyage Round the World*, by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri, Pt. ii, Bk. ii, Ch. i (Churchill's Collection, iv, p. 304).

Peking, the other by an Englishman, John Bell, of Antermony, a member of the embassy.[1]

On the 29th of November, 1720, Count Ismailoff made his public entry into Peking, with a retinue of ninety persons and to the sound of military music. A guard of five hundred Chinese soldiers cleared the way. A Russian officer, "well composed and accoutered," to impress the Chinese mind with the envoy's importance, and with drawn sword, opened the procession; then followed soldiers and a kettle-drummer, a number of servants, and after them the Count on horseback. On one side of him walked a man of gigantic stature and on the other a dwarf, while the gentlemen of the embassy, secretaries, and servants brought up the rear, some on horseback, others on foot. They were lodged in the compound of the ecclesiastical mission, at present the Russian Legation, and the outer court door was locked and sealed by the Chinese with the Emperor's seal.

While the envoy was engaged in conversation on the day of his arrival with commissioners appointed to conduct negotiations with him, and among whom were several Jesuit missionaries, the dinner, consisting of fruits, confections, and a piece of "excellent mutton," sent him by the Emperor, was brought in, and the commissioners requested the Count to return thanks by making the accustomed prostrations. Ismailoff refused, alleging that he represented his sovereign, who was on equal terms with the Emperor. He consented, however, to make an obeisance according to the custom of his own country, and with this the commissioners were forced to be satisfied.

All this was, of course, at once reported to the Emperor, who thought to elude the difficulty by first inviting the envoy to a private audience. The Count said he would accept it if he could present his credentials; he furthermore stated that when presenting them he would not make the prostration, but only the obeisance which European

[1] See *Memoirs of Father Ripa during Thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Peking*, etc. (F. Prandi's translation), p. 115 et seq., and John Bell, *A Journey from St. Petersburg in Russia to Pekin in China*, p. 264 et seq.

ambassadors made before the princes to whom they were sent. He also said that he must place the letter in the Emperor's own hands, and not, according to Chinese custom, upon a table, whence it was taken by a great officer of state and presented to His Majesty. This was, of course, refused. When various other suggestions had been made to Ismailoff by messengers from the Emperor as to how he might present his letter of credence, and all had been put aside by the ambassador as beneath the dignity of his high station, His Majesty, perceiving that he firmly persisted in his resolution, declared through his messengers that whenever he should send an ambassador to the Czar he would stand uncovered before him, although in China none but condemned criminals exposed their heads bare, and should perform all the other ceremonies customary at Moscow. No sooner had they arrived at these words than the chief mandarin instantly took off his cap before the ambassador, and the latter, being thus satisfied, promised to perform the prostrations according to Chinese custom,[1] and also to place the letter upon the table in sight of the Emperor sitting on his throne, so that one of the courtiers might afterwards convey it to His Majesty.[2] The mandarin further stated that the ambassador had the imperial permission to repair to the gate of the palace in the same state in which he had entered Peking.

The audience took place on the 9th of December, at a place about six miles westward from Peking,[3] whither the ambassador and his suite repaired on horseback. Count Ismailoff and the ninety men of his suite were kept waiting, first for half an hour in a small building where they drank

[1] One of the Jesuits residing at Peking at the time says that the Emperor ordered a high officer to perform before the letter of the Czar the same prostrations the Russian envoy would have to make before him; after which the Russian did not hesitate to go through the prescribed ceremony of kotowing. See *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, iii, 308.

[2] Bell's account differs somewhat from that given above, which is taken from Father Ripa's narrative.

[3] Bell's dates are in Russian style, twelve days earlier. Ismailoff was received in audience at Yuan-ming-yuan, the Summer Palace, a few miles west of Peking. Father Ripa writes the name of the palace where the Emperor was then residing at Chan-choon-yuen (probably the Wan-shou-shan).

THRONE CHAIR IN AUDIENCE HALL IN PALACE.

To face p. 27.]

tea, and then in silence for a long while in the open vestibule of the great audience hall, until the Emperor arrived, and took his seat on his throne of carved wood, raised five steps above the floor of the hall. He sat cross-legged; on his right were three of his sons seated upon cushions, and, a little further off, halberdiers, pages, eunuchs, his chief courtiers, and some of the Jesuits, all standing. The Emperor was dressed in a yellow tunic, over which was a sable jacket. On his head was a small cap, the top of which was a large pearl, the only ornament he wore. At the foot of the throne, on the floor of the great hall, sat, upon cushions, in distinct rows, the first mandarins of the empire, the Kung-yeh, or dukes or lords of the imperial family, and many other mandarins of inferior rank. Before the throne, near the entrance of the great hall, stood a table prepared with sweetmeats for His Majesty.[1] In the open vestibule, which was seven steps lower than the great hall, was another table, beyond which Count Ismailoff was made to stand. According to Chinese etiquette, the ambassador should have placed the letter upon this table, kneeling down in the vestibule; but the Emperor ordered that the table should be brought into the audience hall, and that the ambassador should also advance, which was a mark of honour.

Count Ismailoff then entered, and immediately prostrated himself before the table, holding up the Czar's letter with both hands. The Emperor, who had at first behaved graciously to the envoy, now thought proper to mortify him by making him remain some time in this particular posture.[2]

[1] The Emperor K'ang-hsi, who reigned from 1662 to 1723. Gemelli Careri, who saw him in 1695, says of him that he was "of stature proportionable, his countenance comely, his eyes sparkling, and somewhat larger than generally his countrymen have them; somewhat hawk-nosed, and a little round at the point; he has some marks of the small-pox, yet they do not at all lessen the beauty of his countenance" (*Voyages round the World*, Pt. iv, Bk. ii, Ch. i, Churchill's Collection, iv, 304).

[2] Bell (op. cit., 272, 273) does not refer to this little incident. He says, on the contrary, that just as the Count was about to place his credentials on a table in the hall near the door the Emperor beckoned for him to approach, and Ismailoff walked up to the throne, and, kneeling, laid them before the Emperor, who touched them with his hand. After this the ambassador was led back to the entrance to the hall, and there he and his suite performed the kotow.

The proud Russian was indignant at this treatment, and gave unequivocal signs of resentment by certain motions of his mouth and by turning his head aside, which, under the circumstances, was very unseemly. Hereupon His Majesty prudently requested that the ambassador himself should bring the letter up to him, and, when Count Ismailoff did so, kneeling at his feet, he received it in his own hands, thus giving him another mark of regard, and granting him what he had previously refused.

After the presentation of the letter, the ambassador, attended by the master of the ceremonies, returned to his former place in the open vestibule, but shortly after moved to the centre opposite the chair in which the Emperor was seated. Behind the Emperor stood his principal attendants, and further back a number of soldiers and servants. When all present were thus marshalled in due order, at particular signals given by the master-in-chief of the ceremonies,[1] they all went down on their knees, and, after the lapse of a few minutes, bent their heads thrice to the ground. After this all arose upon their feet, then again kneeled and prostrated themselves three times. In this manner they kneeled thrice, and performed nine prostrations, which ceremony is known as *san kuei chiu k'ou*, "the three kneelings and the nine head-knockings."

The ambassador was then conducted to the Emperor's feet, and was asked by His Majesty what request he had to make. Count Ismailoff answered that the Czar had sent him to inquire after the health of His Majesty, and to confirm the friendly relations that existed between them. To these inquiries the Emperor replied in a very courteous manner; and then added that it being feast day, it would not be proper to discuss business, for which an audience would be granted at another opportunity. The ambassador was then allowed to sit down on a low cushion at the end of the row

[1] Bell (p. 273) says he pronounced the Tartar words *morgu* and *boss*, the first meaning to bow, and the other to stand; "two words," he adds, "which I cannot soon forget." Cf. Gemelli Careri's account of the ceremonial in the times of the Emperor K'ang-hsi, where he gives the correct Chinese expression used by the master of ceremonies on such occasions.

in which were the Kung-yeh, or dukes, and four of his principal attendants were placed behind him at the extremity of the next row, and the imperial banquet began, the Emperor handing Ismailoff with his own hands some wine in a gold cup. After this a table of sweetmeats was conveyed to the ambassador, and then another upon which were dishes from the Emperor's own table, among others some boiled pheasants. There was music and dancing during the whole time of the banquet, and various other amusements, and it was nearly night before the Emperor retired, and the Russians left without further formality, "so well satisfied with the gracious and friendly reception of the Emperor that all their former hardships were almost forgot."[1]

A Portuguese mission under Alexander Metello Souza Menezes reached Peking in May, 1727, and an interesting account of the discussion preceding its reception by the Emperor is found in a letter of Father Parrennin, one of the Peking Jesuits, to his friend, Father Nyel.[2] Metello, when received by the Emperor, placed *in his hands* the letter of the King of Portugal, John V, congratulating him on his accession, and then withdrew to the front part of the audience hall, where he and his suite performed the three kneelings and nine head-knockings. After this he was given a cushion nearer the throne than that of any officials present. Here he, kneeling, made his address to the Emperor, and on the whole comported himself with "such grace and courtliness" that the Emperor said of him: "This man is agreeable and polished," and every two days thereafter he had dishes sent to him from his own table. The 7th of July Metello took his leave of the Emperor at the Summer Palace and returned to Macao.

From 1684, or thereabout, when the British first gained a footing in China, unto the end of the eighteenth century, no endeavour was made by them to open direct diplomatic intercourse with the Court of Peking, but in 1788 it was

[1] Bell, op. sup. cit., p. 277.

[2] *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* (edit. Panthéon littéraire), iii, 548-555.

deemed advisable to send an embassy there to put, if possible, the relations between the two countries on some kind of regular and dignified footing. Colonel Cathcart was then appointed minister to the Court of Peking, but as he died while on his way to his post, the mission was deferred until 1792, when the Earl of Macartney was chosen ambassador, and in the latter part of July, 1793, he arrived off Taku bar at the mouth of the Peiho. Here he, his numerous suite, guards, musicians, etc., and the presents destined for the Emperor were embarked on board native boats and taken with great pomp and ceremony to Tien-tsin. Lord Macartney was there told that the Emperor would receive him at Jehol, outside the Great Wall, where he had gone to celebrate his sixtieth birthday, so he sailed on up the Peiho to Tung-chou, while, over the boats that bore him, gaily floated in the breeze Chinese flags bearing in large characters "Ambassadors bearing tribute from the country of England."

From Tung-chou the embassy travelled to Peking, which it entered by the Chao-yang men, or eastern gate in the Tartar city, and passing round the palace and out by the western side of the Tartar city stopped in a village near the Summer Palace. It was decided by the Chinese that the presents destined for the Emperor should be displayed in the audience hall of the Summer Palace, and Lord Macartney was asked to prostrate himself before the throne, as the Dutch and other foreign envoys had done before him.

The ambassador agreed not only to perform the prostration, but also to conform to every exterior ceremony practised by His Imperial Majesty's subjects, and the tributary princes attending at his court, if a subject of His Imperial Majesty, of equal rank to his own, should perform, before the picture he had with him of His Majesty King George III, dressed in his robes of state, the same ceremonies that the ambassador should be directed to perform before the Chinese throne.

This proposition was forwarded to the Emperor for his approval, but without waiting for an answer the ambassador set out for Jehol in his post-chaise accompanied by some

members of his suite. On his arrival there the Chinese at once brought up the audience question, and, ignoring the propositions made previously by Lord Macartney, pressed him to perform the *kotow*, saying that it was a simple, unmeaning ceremony. They were willing to have some slight alterations made in the ceremonial so that it should not be exactly the same as that performed by the envoys of Korea, Liu-chiu, and other vassal states; but Lord Macartney would only agree to bend upon one knee before the Emperor, as he did before his King. According to the British official narratives of the mission this was accepted by the Emperor, and the audience took place shortly after in a tent in the Palace gardens, where the ambassador was kept from before dawn awaiting the Emperor's arrival.

There is a strong suspicion in the minds of many that Lord Macartney made the detested prostrations. Æneas Anderson, a member of the embassy, but who, it is true, was not present at the audience, says that the ceremonial followed was kept a profound secret by those who witnessed it, and intimates that something that had to be concealed then happened.[1] The Chinese on their side emphatically assert that Lord Macartney kotowed.[2] Furthermore, the Russian interpreter, Vladykin, who was in Peking at the time, and other persons who must have had good opportunities for ascertaining the facts, state that the British ambassador did perform the three kneelings and nine head-knockings.[3]

However this may be, Lord Macartney left Jehol after a few days and returned to Peking, where he was given the Emperor's very haughty and highly unsatisfactory answer to King George's letter, and a broad hint to leave as soon as possible was conveyed to him by the Privy Council, which had shown itself throughout most unfriendly

[1] Æneas Anderson, *Narrative of the British Embassy to China in* 1792-93, p. 193.

[2] Henry Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of Lord Amherst's Embassy to China*, 92.

[3] Abel Rémusat, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i, 441-450. Also, Barry E. O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile*, ii, 111.

and often discourteous. With this the embassy hurried away and re-embarked on the ship awaiting it off Taku.[1]

I shall only refer briefly to the Dutch mission to Peking in 1794, under Titzing of the Council of Batavia and Van Braam, chief of the Dutch factory at Canton, which was sent with the ostensible purpose of congratulating the Emperor Ch'ien-lung on his sixtieth birthday. It travelled overland from Canton, hurried along most of the way in carts (sedan-chairs were refused the envoys), and reached Peking on a cold winter night in January, 1795.

After passing a miserable night in a filthy inn outside the gates of the Tartar city, without even anything to eat, the embassy was driven by a circuitous route around the imperial city, and lodged in some dirty little buildings, not far to the west from where now stands the British Legation, possibly in some one of the little inns in the Nei Kuan, probably then already used by Mongols on their winter visits to the capital.

The morning after their arrival an official with a red coral button and a peacock feather in his hat brought the ambassadors a large sturgeon sent them from the Palace, and the envoys received the gift in the courtyard, kneeling and knocking their heads on the ground. They were told that the Emperor would receive them the next day, and that they must not fail to powder their hair and to be ready by 3 o'clock in the morning.

[1] See Sir George Staunton, *An Historical Account of the Embassy to the Emperor of China*, pp. 250–383. The late Thos. Watters, of H.B.M. Consular Service in China, wrote to me a few years ago in reference to the above account of Lord Macartney's mission: "When I was in Peking I made careful enquiries about Earl Macartney's Embassy. The Chinese told me there was no kotow, but the reason given was not that there were conscientious scruples on the part of the English. It was that the Emperor was told by his courtiers that the trousers of the ambassador were so tight that it was impossible for him to prostrate himself in them. A native Roman Catholic Christian, whose ancestor had been in Peking in office at the time, confirmed this statement to me in Tientsin. It was also an opinion universal, and was told among the Chinese, that the *Kuei-tzŭ* or foreigner was not built up like the *jen* or Chinaman, and particularly that he had no joints in his legs. So that if the Kuei-tzŭ was knocked down or otherwise put on the ground he could not rise again. It was because the Emperor did not want to have possibly a death or at any rate an unseemly spectacle that he waived the kotow. As you know, he was a magnificent and very liberal-minded sovereign."

When the time came they were driven off in carts and reached the palace by 5 o'clock. Coming to the west side of the imperial city, near where now stands the Pei-t'ang Roman Catholic cathedral, they waited, first in one, then in another of the little guard-houses near the gate, laughed at and stared at by the noisy, dirty crowd. At last day broke; they were led into the imperial city, across the Marble Bridge, and then ordered to kneel by the side of the road in company with some Korean envoys and a lot of Mongols, there to await the passage of the Emperor, who was shortly to pass by on his way to one of the pavilions along the north-west shore of the Northern Lake.

When the imperial cortège reached the Dutch, their letters of credence were taken from them while they prostrated themselves before the Emperor seated in his yellow sedan-chair. The Emperor stopped a minute, and learning who these strange, powder-headed creatures were, asked the age of their prince and if he were in good health, and then passed on.

The Dutch were then led into the gardens surrounding the frozen lake and into a pavilion near that in which the Emperor was breakfasting. Here some food was given them, and they again prostrated themselves before these gifts from the Emperor's table. After this they were taken back into the park to witness the Chinese skating, and to see the Emperor in his sleigh, and they showed their proficiency in the art of skating, much to the delight of the coolies, soldiers, and Palace servants.

When the Emperor, a little later, returned to his Palace the Dutch appear to have been led into the Forbidden City, where they were received by Ho Chung-t'ang, one of the members of the Inner Council probably, before whom they also kneeled, and then remained standing all the while he addressed them.

During the rest of their sojourn at Peking the Dutch were treated as freaks of nature, to be stared at and to afford amusement for the crowd. They were even led to the Palace to be looked at by the women; they were refused permission

to see any of the missionaries; they were half starved and frozen; they had to be at the Palace every day, and were made to prostrate themselves so often and before so many persons that they were on the point of rebelling. Finally the presents from the Stadtholder were delivered, and return presents and a letter sent by the Emperor given them; and after having been in Peking forty days, they left it again on the 14th of February, apparently much sadder but wiser men.[1]

In 1805 the Russian Government sent, at the request of that of China, an embassy to the Court of Peking. It was organized on a most brilliant scale, and was led by Count Golovkin. In the middle of January, 1806, the envoy reached Urga in Northern Mongolia, where discussions as to the ceremonies to be followed at the imperial audience began. Golovkin refused to kotow, alleging that Lord Macartney had not done so. The question was referred to Peking, and the embassy had to await the imperial commands; but in the meantime the governor of Northern Mongolia received orders to give the Count an imperial banquet before the imperial throne, and here the ambassador was requested to kotow before a screen and a yellow-covered table which figured the Emperor. Golovkin refused, the banquet was not given, and on the 10th February orders came from Peking dismissing him, and he promptly set off for Russia again.[2]

In the year 1815 the increasing difficulties which the British at Canton were continually experiencing as a result of the oppressions of the local Government, and also the absence of trade regulations, induced the Court of Directors of the East India Company to submit to the home Government a proposition recommending the sending of an embassy to Peking. One of the chief grievances of the British against the Chinese was their resenting the seizure in their territorial waters of several American ships by the commander of H.B.M. ship *Doris*, and their visiting their displeasure on the Company's people at Canton. In 1816 Lord Amherst was appointed ambassador to China, and in the latter part

[1] De Guignes, *Voyage à Peking, Manille et l'Ile de France*, i, 357–439.

[2] G. Timkowski, *Voyage à Peking*, i, 133–136.

of July of the same year he arrived off Taku, on his way to Peking. Here some officials of low degree met him, and a few days after the ambassador and his suite of fifty-four persons set out for Tien-tsin in native boats.

Lord Amherst now began to show signs of perplexity; should he kotow or should he not? He consulted the officers of his suite, and found them divided on the subject; Mr. Morrison, his interpreter, and Mr. Ellis being in favour of his complying with the Chinese request, while Sir George Staunton held its performance incompatible with personal and national dignity.[1]

Some preliminary discussion about kotowing took place between Lord Amherst and a Tartar official, styled Kuang Chin-chai, deputed from Peking to meet the embassy on the occasion of an imperial banquet, given in all likelihood at the Hai-kuang ssŭ near Tien-tsin. This official said the ceremonial required would be the same as that observed in Lord Macartney's case, implying, of course, that the kotow would be expected. Amherst replied that he would follow in every respect the precedent established by the former ambassador, meaning, of course, that he would only bend the knee. Then the Chinese declared in the most emphatic manner that Lord Macartney had kotowed whenever asked. Lord Amherst's expressions of anxiety to show the Emperor the same marks of veneration as he would His Britannic Majesty did not pacify them, and they freely stated their belief that the embassy would not be received by the Emperor. Finally, the kotow was dispensed with for this occasion only, and the Chinese were satisfied with Lord Amherst's bowing nine times before the imperial table, and agreeing, on his reception by the Emperor, to kneel upon one knee and make his obeisance in that posture, and to repeat this nine times in succession.

On the 14th of August the embassy left for Tung-chou in boats. On the way up it had several squabbles with the officials escorting it. The Emperor forbade Lord Amherst's

[1] See Henry Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of Lord Amherst's Embassy to China*, pp. 78, 109, 152, 153, 171.

orchestra to accompany him to Peking, and insisted on the kotow, asserting that Lord Macartney had performed it. The presents were also refused and the embassy ordered back unless the obnoxious prostration was gone through with. Lord Amherst tried Lord Macartney's suggestion, that he would kotow if a Tartar of equal rank with him did so before the portrait of the Prince Regent, or, if this proposition was inacceptable, he would kotow if the Emperor issued a decree stating that any Chinese ambassador who might hereafter be presented at the British Court should perform the kotow before His British Majesty. Both suggestions were refused; the officials to whom they were made would not even submit them to the Emperor, whose ultimatum was—kotow or no audience.

Lord Amherst turned back, dropped down the river, and anchored at Tsai-tsun, a little town on the Peiho. Here after a while further orders reached him from the Emperor directing him to return to Tung-chou, there to discuss again the audience question with newly-appointed envoys, and go through a rehearsal of the ceremony originally agreed upon at Tien-tsin.

On the 20th of August the embassy reached Tung-chou, where once more the ceremonial question was discussed, the Chinese showing themselves haughty, insolent, and unbending in their demands. Lord Amherst appears to have been on the verge of ceding rather than to see his embassy fail, and Ellis expressed the view that the national respectability would not suffer thereby, and that the difference between nine prostrations of the head to the ground upon two knees and nine profound bows upon one knee was after all very slight.[1] Sir George Staunton, however, strenuously opposed this view, and finally Lord Amherst informed the Chinese commissioners that his decision was irrevocable, and that he would not kotow.

The embassy remained at Tung-chou a week, when suddenly orders came for Lord Amherst to go at once to the village of Hai-tien, near the Summer Palace, at which latter

[1] Henry Ellis, op. sup. cit., p. 152.

place the Emperor had decided to receive him. Here he arrived on the 29th of August, after having been taken around Peking instead of through the city. He was without a moment's delay led to the Summer Palace and told that the Emperor would at once receive him. Amherst said he could not appear in his present state of fatigue, inanition, and deficiency of every necessary equipment, not to mention the fact that he had not his credentials with him. He boldly refused to cede to anything but violence, saying that he was so overcome by fatigue and bodily illness as absolutely to require repose.

The Emperor, it is said, at first accepted his excuses, and sent his own surgeon to attend him, and the ambassador returned to Hai-tien; but hardly had he arrived there when orders dismissing him came from the Emperor, who had apparently become in the meanwhile incensed at Amherst's refusal to attend him according to his commands. It would seem that the surgeon reported that Amherst was shamming illness, and that this had caused the Emperor to order the instant dismissal of the mission.

Lord Amherst left the same day for Tung-chou, where he received some presents for the Prince Regent from the Emperor; and the pictures of the King and Queen of England, some maps and coloured prints were sent back to the Emperor in return. On the 2nd of September the embassy started for Tien-tsin, and thence down the grand canal to the Yang-tzŭ River, which was entered on the 19th of October, and then by way of Nan-king to Canton, which was reached on the 1st of January, 1817; and here the ships which had brought it the year before to Taku were in waiting to take it back to England.

Lord Amherst's conduct of his mission gave rise to much discussion in Europe; I will not give the many arguments advanced for or against his refusal to perform the kotow. I cannot forbear, however, quoting the opinion of Napoleon I as given by O'Meara:[1] "The Emperor of China had a right to require the *ko-tou*. It is an extraordinary presumption

[1] Barry E. O'Meara, op. sup. cit., ii, 112–114.

for you to attempt to regulate the etiquette of the palace of Peking by that of St. James; the simple principle which has been laid down, that in negotiation as well as in etiquette the ambassador does not represent the sovereign, and has only a right to experience the same treatment as the highest grandee of the place, clears up the whole of the question and remedies every difficulty. Russia and England should instruct their ambassadors to submit to the *ko-tou*, upon the sole condition that the Chinese ambassador should submit in London and Petersburg to such forms of etiquette as are prescribed for the princes and grandees. In paying respect to the customs of a country you make those of your own more sacred; and every homage which is rendered to a great foreign sovereign in the forms which are in use in his own country is becoming and honorable. Every sensible man in your country therefore can consider the refusal to perform the *ko-tou* not otherwise than as unjustifiable and unfortunate in its consequences."

When in 1843 Caleb Cushing was appointed first envoy of the United States to China and entrusted with a letter from the President to the Emperor of China, it was in anticipation of a renewal of the Chinese demands for the kotow that Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State of the United States, instructed Mr. Cushing to "assist and maintain, on all occasions, the equality and independence of your own country. The Chinese are apt," Mr. Webster went on to state, "to speak of persons coming into the Empire from other nations as tribute-bearers to the Emperor. This idea has been fostered perhaps by the costly parade embassies of England. . . . You will say . . . that you cannot do anything which the religion of your own country, or the sentiments of honor, forbid; that you have the most profound respect for His Majesty the Emperor; that you are ready to make to him all manifestations of homage which are consistent with your own sense . . . but that you should deem yourself quite unworthy to appear before His Majesty as peace-bearer from a great and powerful nation, if you should do anything against religion or against honor,

as understood by the Government and people in the country you come from. . . .

"You will represent to the Chinese authorities, nevertheless, that you are directed to pay to His Majesty the Emperor the same marks of respect and homage as are paid by your Government to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, or any other of the great powers of the world." [1]

In 1858 Mr. John E. Ward was appointed minister of the United States to China and instructed to proceed to Peking, there to deliver to the Emperor Hsien-feng a letter of the President, and effect the exchange of the ratified copies of the treaty signed in June of the same year at Tien-tsin by our first minister to China, Mr. W. B. Reed.

Mr. Ward left Shanghai in June, 1859, on the U.S. ship *Powhatan*, and in due course reached the village of Pei-t'ang, to the north of the mouth of the Peiho River. Here he landed and was taken to Peking, part of the way in carts and part in boats; but over the carts and boats floated an ominous little yellow pennant with the words "Tribute-bearers from the United States."

On the 28th of June the mission entered Peking. The imperial commissioners appointed to confer with the minister were the same who had the year before signed the treaty with Mr. Reed, and who were a year later to play such an important rôle with the British and French plenipotentiaries. They insisted that the treaty could only be exchanged after an audience of the Emperor, but they were pleased to admit that, as the United States was neither a vassal nor a tributary state like Korea, Liu-chiu, or Annam, its envoy could not be expected to perform the three kneelings and nine head-knockings, and that the Emperor would be satisfied with one kneeling and three head-knockings.

Mr. Ward replied, like the Arab envoys to the Chinese Emperor in the eighth century, that he knelt to God only, and furthermore he cared nothing for an audience which he had not sought. One of the Chinese commissioners then adduced

[1] Francis Wharton, *Digest of International Law of the United States* (2nd ed.), i, 446–447. Cushing did not reach Peking.

an argument which had done service in the case of Lord Amherst, and which was to be brought forward again in 1873. "Our sovereigns are of equal rank, and so are you and we, their ministers. Now, we kneel before the Emperor, so you should do likewise, for if you do not you raise yourself above us." According to Napoleon's theories, this argument was unanswerable, but Ward refused to consider it so, and insisted that he would only bow to the Emperor in the same way as he would to the President of the United States. He also asked the commissioners if they would prostrate themselves before a foreign potentate, to which they promptly replied that they would be ready not only to knock their heads on the ground, but that, if required to, they would burn incense before him as they do before their gods.

Finally a compromise was agreed upon which, it was thought, would meet with the Emperor's approval. Ward was to approach the throne and bow as low as he would to the President of the United States, when chamberlains would run forward to him on either side crying out, "Don't kneel!" Those of his suite presented with him would go through the same ceremony, after which he would respectfully place the letter of the President on a table so surrounded with embroideries as to conceal most of his person from the Emperor, who would not be able to see whether he was kneeling or standing. After this the letter would be taken by a courtier, who would present it, kneeling, to the Emperor.

The Emperor, however, proved obdurate. His reply was that unless Mr. Ward actually touched one knee or the ends of his fingers to the ground, he would not receive him. Of course this was refused, and a few days later the letter of the President was delivered to the commissioners, who had been ordered in the meanwhile by the Emperor to receive it. The exchange of ratifications was effected in an unceremonious way at Pei-t'ang, where Ward embarked again on the 17th of August for Shanghai.[1]

[1] S. Wells Williams, *Journ. North China Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 315–342. Id., *The Middle Kingdom*, ii, 668–670. Also *Correspondence and Despatches of the U.S. Ministers to China*, 1857–1859, p. 575 et seq.; and W. A. P. Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay*, 190 et seq.

III.

From 1857 to 1901.

With Ward's failure in 1859 the first phase of this long-fought battle came to an end. In it the Chinese had scored victories over the Arabs, Russians, Dutch, Portuguese, British, and Americans, and in the middle of the nineteenth century the Western world had no reason to believe that China would ever depart from its successfully enforced demand that foreign envoys should prostrate themselves before the Emperor in compliance with the immemorial custom of the country and of Asia generally.

But even the Chinese world moves, and so it happened that when once again the audience question was brought under discussion the relations of China with the powers of the West had undergone such changes that it was no longer possible for it to withstand the pressure of public opinion and to ignore the necessity of conciliating the despised Western barbarians. Consequently in the narrative of the second half of this great fight we have only to chronicle China's defeats.

The audience question, about which nothing had been heard since foreign diplomatic representatives were first allowed to reside in Peking in 1860, but for which they had been quietly preparing, was brought to the front in the commencement of 1873, when the Emperor Tung-chih reached his majority. The foreign ministers at Peking, as soon as they had been advised of his assumption of personal control of the empire, asked to be allowed to present to him their congratulations and the letters accrediting them to his Court. Ministers of the newly created Foreign Office (Tsung-li Ya-mên) raised no very serious objections to the granting of the audience, provided the forms and ceremonies customary among the Chinese upon such occasions, among which that of kotowing was the most important, were complied with. They contended, as had been so frequently

done before, that none but equals of the Emperor could be allowed to stand in his presence; that he had no equals but the actual heads of foreign governments; that while the diplomatic representatives of these governments acted for their sovereigns, they were not possessed of the same power, and could not, therefore, be considered equals in rank. One might think they had taken their arguments from Dr. O'Meara's book, and that Napoleon I was fighting their battle.

The foreign ministers signified that the fact of kneeling before the Emperor would imply that their countries were inferior to China, that it would be offensive to the dignity of their governments and debasing to themselves; but they were promptly answered that in past times the envoys of the Emperor of Russia had not hesitated to comply with this custom. The Chinese also insisted that if the foreign ministers knelt before the Emperor they did nothing more than was required of the princes of the blood, and that should they remain standing these latter would appear the inferiors of the foreigners.

The real difficulty appears to have been the fear in which the Chinese ministers stood of the Emperor, and their disinclination to represent to him the exact condition of things, which would show the altered condition of Chinese relations with foreign governments since the conclusion of the treaty with Great Britain in 1858.[1] However, after four months of contention, it was finally agreed that the ministers then present at Peking should be received by the Emperor on the 29th of June, 1873.

[1] Tseng Kuo-fan realized in 1868 how impossible it was in the altered condition of the relations between China and Western Powers for the Emperor to insist on compliance with Chinese etiquette by foreign representatives at the Court of Peking. In his famous secret memorial to the Emperor Tung-chih (see *Papers relating to Foreign Affairs*, 1868, pt. i, 519–521) he advised him to treat Western nations as equals, for he could have no desire to arrogate to himself the sway over lands within the boundless oceans, or require that their ministers should render homage as did the Koreans and other tribes. He advised the Emperor when he took the reins of government to grant them audience and to settle the presents and ceremonies to be followed at the time; "they, the envoys, need not be forced to do what is difficult. This course would best suit China's dignity and show its courtesy."

I take from dispatches addressed by the United States minister, Mr. Frederick F. Low, to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, and from memoranda accompanying them, the following facts concerning this audience, which he rightly regarded as marking a new departure in the relations of foreign nations with China.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of the 29th of June the ministers of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands assembled at the "Fu Hua Gate" in the wall that surrounds the Forbidden City, where they were met by one of the Grand Secretaries and several ministers. Here they left their chairs and escorts and were conducted on foot to the Shih-ying kung or "Palace of Seasonableness," a temple to the west of the Middle Lake in a remote corner of the palace grounds and near the Catholic cathedral known as Pei T'ang, and where the God of Rain is worshipped by the Emperor. They were shown into the imperial robing-room attached to the temple, where refreshments consisting of cakes, sweetmeats, fruits, and tea were served them; these refreshments, the Grand Secretary was particular to inform them, had been prepared in the imperial household, but this time no kotow was required before this 'banquet.'

After waiting an hour or more the ministers were conducted to a large marquee on the west side of the neighbouring reception hall, called the Tzŭ-kuang ko, or the "Hall of Purple Brightness," where the Prince of Kung, the President of the Foreign Office, and the rest of the ministers of the Tsung-li Ya-mên were waiting to receive them. This hall, by the way, is that in which the Emperor entertains each year at a banquet the tributary Mongol princes who come to the capital to do him homage, and which has also in past times been used by the Emperor as a grand stand from which to view archery contests or boat-races on the lake stretching between it and the Palace walls.[1] Here the envoys were again forced to wait a long time, the Chinese minister apologizing for the delay, saying

[1] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1873, pp. 149–163.

that the Emperor had received important dispatches from the seat of war in Kashgaria that were detaining him. Finally, the Emperor having arrived and having taken his seat in the chair of state within the hall, the five foreign ministers were allowed to enter by the left-hand door of the hall, not by the central one, which is reserved for the Emperor alone. As they filed across the hall and came in front of the throne they bowed to the Emperor, and then advanced a few steps, when they bowed again, and finally halted near the foot of the throne, bowing a third time. As soon as they had taken their places, the Dean, who was the Russian minister, read an address which the interpreter, standing behind them, translated into Chinese. When this was over all the ministers advanced one step and placed their credentials upon a yellow table at the foot of the throne, bowing once more as they did so. As the letters were laid upon the table, the Emperor leaned slightly forward as in acknowledgment of their reception, and the Prince of Kung, falling on his knees, was commanded by the Emperor, who spoke in Manchu in a low voice, to inform the ministers that their letters of credence had been received. The Prince then arose, descended the steps, and, advancing a short distance towards the ministers, repeated what had been said to him. Then he reascended the platform, and falling on his knees was again addressed by the Emperor. On rising he once more came down the steps, advanced to the Dean of the diplomatic body, and said that His Majesty trusted that the Emperor, Kings, and Presidents of the states represented were in good health, and hoped that all foreign affairs would be satisfactorily arranged between the Tsung-li Ya-mên and the foreign ministers. With this the audience ended, and the ministers, retiring backwards, made three bows in the same manner as on entering the hall. They returned again for a short while to the Shih-ying kung, and were escorted back to the gate where they had left their sedan-chairs and foreign retinue, in the same manner as on their arrival; and so this memorable audience came to an end.

On the 12th of January, 1875, the Emperor Tung-chih "departed on the long journey on the dragon chariot and became a guest on high." In 1888 his successor, the present reigning Emperor, attained his majority and assumed personal control of the State. In the latter part of 1890 he issued a decree stating that he would receive the diplomatic representatives for the purpose of their presenting their letters of credence, and that the audience would be held in like manner to that given in 1873.[1]

Immediately the diplomatic corps held several conferences to determine what action should be taken in regard to the audience now offered them by the Emperor, and what points they could gain, so as to make it conform more closely with Western precedents and usages. Long lists of points to be raised in discussing with the Chinese Foreign Office the details of the audience were drawn up; protocols, *aide-mémoires*, memoranda, and notes were sealed, signed, delivered, and—pigeonholed. The outcome of two months of discussion was that on the 5th of March, 1891, the diplomatic representatives of ten of the treaty powers were received in the same out-of-the-way Tzŭ-kuang ko, against which they had strenuously objected, and of which one of the foreign ministers had said,[2] that "it had rightly or wrongly a very bad name, and not only foreign, but also Chinese, public opinion had pointed to the use of that place as one of the principal reasons why the audience of 1873 had not been considered a success."

Exactly the same ceremonial was followed in introducing the ministers to the reception hall as in 1873, and the same long hours of waiting ensued, just as in the days of Ismailoff in 1720 and of Low and his colleagues in 1873. The only material progress made was that instead of placing the letters of credence on a table at the foot of the imperial throne, as was done in 1873, they were placed by the President of the Chinese Foreign Office, Prince of Ching,

[1] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1891, pp. 356 et seq.
[2] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1891, p. 384.

standing and not kneeling, on a table so close to the Emperor that he could take them in his hand if he chose to do so. And with this the envoys were "highly satisfied," and considered that "substantial progress had been made in the eighteen years that had elapsed since the last audience," and that what Mr. Low had said of the epoch-marking audience of 1873, that "their arduous and lengthy discussions had forced China to take a more important step in advance than she had ever done before, except when compelled by force of arms,"[1] was even truer of the audience of 1891.

As to the other concessions, that separate audiences were to be henceforth granted upon the arrival or departure of a minister, and general audiences to the whole diplomatic corps on stated occasions, these were more apparent than real; the principle of separate audiences had been fully acknowledged by China in 1873, when a Japanese ambassador and the French minister had been received separately by the Emperor, and also in 1874, when audiences were granted to several diplomatic representatives, among others the United States minister, Mr. Benjamin P. Avery.[2] All this was now a matter of small importance to the Chinese, who, after a fight waged for at least ten centuries, had lost the only point worth seriously contending for, when in 1873 they allowed the representatives of foreign powers to dispense with the time-honoured kotow.

In the early part of 1894 several of the foreign ministers were received by the Emperor in a hall specially built for the purpose and called the Cheng-kuang tien, though still outside the Palace precincts; but on the 4th of November of the same year audience was finally promised them within the sacred precincts of the Imperial Palace (Ta nei), in the Wen-hua Tien, but only then as "an act of grace," that they might present to the Emperor the letters of

[1] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1891, pp. 374 et seq. On the audience of 1891 and on those of 1894, see also Henri Cordier, *Hist. des relations de la Chine avec les Puissances occidentales*, iii, 187–209.

[2] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1875, pp. 228–234.

congratulation addressed to him by the various heads of foreign states on the sixtieth anniversary of the Empress Dowager.[1]

There still remained a few points to be carried before the Western Powers could claim to have gained a complete victory in this long-drawn-out ceremonial fight.

The year 1898 saw a noted advance in the settlement of these vexatious questions. In March of that year the Emperor, in the audience granted the Russian Chargé d'Affaires for the presentation of a telegram from the Emperor of Russia, so far departed from the terms of the protocol of 1891 that the Chargé d'Affaires was allowed to ascend the Throne platform, and after addressing the Emperor directly placed the telegram in his hands, the Emperor standing to receive it.[2] The same ceremonial was shortly after followed in an audience granted the French Minister to present his letters of credence. The Emperor wore the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour, and spoke to the Minister. The same ceremonial was again observed in an audience given that year to the departing Minister of the United States and his successor in office.

The same year the wives of the Foreign Representatives in Peking were received for the first time by the Empress Dowager in a pavilion (I-luan Tien) of the Winter Palace.

All changed, however, after the *coup d'état* of 1898, by which the Empress Dowager assumed practical control of the government and placed the reactionist party in power. The audiences by the Emperor to the Foreign Representatives, which since 1894 had been in the Wen-hua Tien of the Imperial Palace, were given in a small pavilion in the Winter Palace under the eye of the Empress Dowager. The last of these audiences, on Chinese New Year's Day, in February, 1900, was less cordial than any previous one; it was a reversion to the ceremonial of 1873, or even worse. The Minister for Foreign Affairs (Prince of Ch'ing) received

[1] On the kotow question, see Léopold de Saussure, *La Chine et les Puissances occidentales*, Genève, 1894.

[2] See *Messager Officiel de St. Pétersbourg*, March 28th – April 9th, 1898.

from the Emperor his written reply (which he took out of the leg of his boot) to the speech of the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, then, descending the steps of the Throne, read it to them. The Emperor spoke no word to anyone; he sat sullen and listless during the whole ceremony, which only lasted a few minutes.

This was the last audience before the Boxer outbreak of 1900.

So important was it deemed by the Powers to reach a final settlement of these questions of ceremonial at public audiences by the Emperor to their representatives at his Court, that in the demands made on China by them for the restoration of friendly relations after the outbreak of 1900 in the Joint Note of December 22nd, 1900, they embodied one (the 12th) requiring of the Chinese Government "to modify the Court ceremonial relative to the reception of Foreign Representatives in the manner which the Powers shall indicate."

It was held by the Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Peking that the points to be finally settled in this question were:—

1. That solemn audiences to Foreign Representatives should be given in one of the principal Throne Halls of the Forbidden City, not as heretofore in a secondary pavilion like the Wen-hua Tien.

2. That the Representatives should be conveyed in sedan-chairs to the door of the Throne Hall, and not be obliged to walk from the Palace Gate (the Tung-hua men) to and from the Hall, as had been required of them heretofore.

3. That as regards the practice obtaining at the Courts of Europe when a Representative has to present to the Sovereign an autograph communication of the head of his State (viz., that a Court carriage conveys him to the Palace, where a guard of honour meets him), the Court of China must conform, as far as local conditions allowed, with this ceremony.

4. That when presenting to the Emperor autograph communications from the head of his State, the Representative shall on going to and returning from the Throne

CHING-YÜN GATE.

Where Ministers take "Palace Chairs."

CH'IEN-CH'ING GATE.

Where Ministers alight from and take "Palace Chairs."

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Hall pass by the central door, which is opened only for the Emperor, all lesser persons passing in and out by the lateral doors.

5. That the Emperor should receive directly in his hand the letters from the heads of States presented to him; and

6. That should the Emperor invite the Foreign Representatives to a banquet, he should not, as in the past, have it given there in a room of the Foreign Office without attending in person, but that he should have it in one of the halls of the Imperial Palace and be present himself.

The demand which met with the most determined opposition was the second. The highest noblemen of China, the most powerful ministers of state, when going into the Palace are required to walk; alone the father and uncle of the Emperor, by act of special grace, are allowed the privilege of being carried in a small sedan-chair specially made for the purpose and called *i chiao*, as far as the inner gate of the Palace.

It was contended by the Foreign Representatives that to mark the difference between subjects of the Emperor and the Representatives of independent and equal States, the latter should be shown more honour than the most exalted of the former; and so they insisted that not only should they enter the outside gate of the Palace in their own sedan-chairs and be carried in them as far as the highest noble had the right to be conveyed in a special Palace chair, but that on reaching that point they should be carried in *i chiao* in the Palace to the gate of the Throne Hall in which the audience was granted them.[1]

This demand and the others mentioned above were finally agreed to by the Chinese Government and embodied in a Memorandum appended to the Final Protocol signed by the Chinese and the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers on the 7th of September, 1901. It reads as follows:—

[1] See *Report of the Commissioner of the United States*, pp. 121–122, 188–192, 279–281, 338–339.

Memorandum on the Ceremonial to be followed in Solemn Audiences.

1. Solemn audiences to be given by His Majesty the Emperor of China to the Diplomatic Body or to Representatives of the Powers separately shall take place in the Palace hall called "Ch'ien-ch'ing Kung."

2. In going to or coming back from these solemn audiences the Representatives of the Powers shall be carried in their sedan-chairs as far as outside of the Ching-yün Gate. At the Ching-yün Gate they will get out of the sedan-chair in which they have come, and will be carried in a little chair (*i chiao*) as far as the foot of the steps of the Ch'ien-ch'ing Gate.

On arriving at the Ch'ien-ch'ing Gate the Representatives of the Powers shall get out of their chairs, and shall proceed on foot into the presence of His Majesty in the Ch'ien-ch'ing Kung hall.

When departing the Representatives of the Powers shall return to their residences in the same manner as that in which they arrived.

3. When a Representative of a Power shall have occasion to present to His Majesty the Emperor his letters of credence or a communication from the Head of the State by whom he is accredited, the Emperor shall cause to be sent to the residence of said Representative, to bear him to the Palace, a sedan-chair with yellow trimmings and tassels, such as are used by the Princes of the Imperial family. The said Representative shall be taken back to his residence in the same manner. An escort of troops shall likewise be sent to the residence of the said Representative to accompany him going and returning.

4. When presenting his letters of credence or communication from the Head of the State by whom he is accredited, the Diplomatic Agent, while bearing said letters or communications, shall pass by the central openings of the Palace doors until he has arrived in the presence of His Majesty. On returning from these audiences he will comply, as

CH'IEN-CH'ING KUNG.
Where Diplomatic Audiences are given.

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regards the doors by which he may have to pass, with the usages already established at the Court of Peking for audiences given to Foreign Representatives.

5. The Emperor shall receive directly into his hands the letters and communications above mentioned which the Foreign Representatives may have to hand to him.

6. If His Majesty should decide upon inviting to a banquet the Representatives of the Powers, it is well understood that this banquet shall be given in one of the halls of the Imperial Palace and that His Majesty shall be present in person.

7. In brief, the ceremonial adopted by China as regards Foreign Representatives shall, in no case, be different from that which results from perfect equality between the countries concerned and China, and without any loss of prestige on one side or the other.

The first audience granted the Foreign Representatives under this new dispensation was that of New Year's, 1902. The programme drawn up by the Chinese Foreign Office for the occasion, and which was punctually carried out, was as follows:—

"At the appointed time the various ministers, riding in their chairs, will be escorted (from their Legations) by officers appointed by the Board of Foreign Affairs, who will conduct them (into the Palace) through the Tung-Hua Gate. The secretaries, attachés, interpreters, etc., will leave their chairs outside the Shang Ssŭ Yuan (the Palace Stud), and will follow on foot. Outside the Ching Yün Gate (Inner Palace Gate) the ministers will exchange their chairs for the Palace chairs, prepared by the Department of the Imperial Household, and will leave these chairs at the foot of the steps outside of the Ch'ien Ch'ing Gate, and will pass on foot through the middle Ch'ien Ch'ing Gate to the imperial study, where they will wait a few moments. At 1 o'clock the Emperor will enter the hall, and the ministers of the Foreign Office will lead in the ministers, their secretaries, attachés, interpreters, and others according to their rank. In the first rank will be the ministers, the doyen, and one

interpreter, who will stand behind the doyen. The second row will contain the secretaries and attachés, and the remainder will constitute the third row. At the middle door of the hall one bow will be made; on entering the hall and after a few steps a second bow will be made, and when before the steps of the throne a third bow. The doyen will then read his address, which the interpreter will translate, and when he shall have finished translating, the Emperor will make his reply through Prince Ch'ing, which the interpreter will translate to the several ministers. When they shall have finished listening to the address, they will make a bow and retire a few steps, bow a second time, then retire to the hall door and bow a third time. When the ceremony is completed, they will lead their secretaries, attachés, and interpreters sidewise to the left gate and pass out backwards. At the imperial study they will rest a while, and then pass out through the middle Ch'ien Ch'ing Gate, enter the Palace chairs, and ride through the Ching Yün Gate, where they will leave the Palace chairs and enter their own to be carried back to their Legations."

Since 1902 numerous audiences have been granted foreign representatives by the Emperor of China, and in all of them the above detailed ceremonial has been followed; the audience question at the Court of China has been, it would seem, finally settled.

The latest, perhaps not the most interesting, but certainly the most amusing, incident in the whole history of the kotow question is of quite recent date. In it the tables were turned, and a Chinese ambassador was asked, as we have seen one asked in the tenth century, to make the kotow before a foreign sovereign.

It was in 1901 when the representatives of the powers were waiting in Peking to sign the final protocol with China, in which it was stated, among many other interesting things, that "the ceremonial adopted by China as regards foreign representatives shall, in no case, be different from that which results from perfect equality between the countries concerned and China, and without any loss of

prestige on one side or the other." At the same time a Chinese mission, headed by a brother of the Emperor, was travelling to Berlin to convey to His Majesty the German Emperor the expression of the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China and of the Chinese Government for the assassination in Peking during the Boxer troubles of the previous year of the German Minister, Baron von Ketteler.

Arriving at Basel on the German frontier the Chinese mission learnt that the German Emperor insisted that Prince Chün, the ambassador, and his suite should perform the kotow before him, alleging that since the Chinese attached such great importance to appearances the German Government must insist upon their treating European Sovereigns with the same respect as their own monarch. The demands, it was held, were in complete accordance with the penitential character of the mission.

The Chinese ambassador, under instructions from Peking, refused to set foot on German soil till these demands had been withdrawn, alleging the same objections to complying with these demands as for over a century European envoys had used when asked to perform this ceremony before the Emperor of China. Then it was intimated from Berlin that Prince Chün would be dispensed with the kotowing before the Kaiser, but that his suite should go through three prostrations and nine head-knockings. Compliance with this was also refused by the Chinese, so after nearly a week of delay and much telegraphing, the German Emperor, "on his own initiative," caused Prince Chün to be informed that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to receive him in Potsdam unattended by any other members of the penitential mission except an interpreter. The mission forthwith proceeded to Berlin, and on September 4th, 1901, Prince Chün was received in audience, the Emperor, seated on his Throne, wearing the uniform of the Gardes du Corps with the steel helmet, and holding in his hand his Field Marshal's baton. The Prince advanced to the Throne with many profound obeisances, which the Emperor, remaining seated, acknowledged with a slight movement of his head.

"As soon as his audience was over Prince Chün retired again, bowing profoundly and repeatedly to the Emperor. At his entrance into the palace he had been treated as a penitent. He had been given no military escort. The soldiers on guard at the palace gates had treated him with ostentatious indifference. He had been saluted neither by the officers nor by the men. But on his return he found that a great transformation had taken place. He had fulfilled his mission of atonement, and was no longer treated as a penitent, but as an Imperial Prince, the guest of His Majesty the Emperor. A guard of honor consisting of an infantry battalion and of a squadron of the 'Life' Regiment of Hussars of the Guard was drawn up at the gates. A regimental band played a salute. Prince Chün, who was accompanied by Major-General von Höpfner, inspected the troops, and then drove back to the Orangery escorted by a squadron of the Hussars." [1]

[1] See the London *Times*, Sept. 5th, 1901.